351 417 The enclosure (ingo) around the majority of the kraals both in Urundi and Ruanda is not only intended as a means of protection against human or animal intruders, but it also serves to enclose the family, especially the small children, and to keep the cattle penned in at night (Plate 20a, 21b). If the inhabitants have no cattle, they usually have no fences around their huts. This is the case, for example, in some mountain regions of northwest Urundi and in a few districts of western central Urundi. Wherever fences do exist, they are higher than a man so that one cannot see over them. Depending on what material is available, they consist of dry trunks of banana trees, sorghum stalks, papyrus shafts, or the dry branches of the Acanthus arboreus, roughly but firmly tied together, or they are formed by closely planted living dracaena, fig trees, or euphorbias. I never saw stones piled up so as to make a wall, although there are enough blocks of stone there to serve this purpose. The entrance to the kraal, which is flanked by two strong poles, is blocked at night by trunks placed across it. [24]

The kraals of the Batussi are in most cases more carefully and firmly enclosed than those of the Bahutu. In some areas settled predominantly by Batussi, for example, in the extensive highland pasture areas on the eastern slope of the peripheral mountains of Tanganyika on the upper Muwarasi, "each house is a small fortress with three concentric defenses. Within the protective wall (probably made of piled earth, there is a plaited cane fence, behind this one of euphorbias, and finally one made of thorns" (No. 8, p. 73).

351 248 [287] Even when the hedge does not consist of fig trees planted close to one another, there are almost always a number of fig trees around the kraal, this being more often the case here than in Ruanda. These trees provide not only shade for the kraal, but also bark which is used in a variety of ways, in particular for making clothes (Plate 18a, 21a). As in Ruanda, such circular groups of fig trees enable one to note the sites of former kraals, particularly those of chiefs, many years after the huts have

351 disappeared. Yet, I did not find any trees at all at the resi-
[248] dence of the great chief Kilima (see pp. 162, 188 [these pages not translated]) in northwest Urundi. Four large round kraals are situated there on an open round mountain top at an altitude of 2,150 meters, affording a wonderful view of the neighboring deep valleys and long mountain chains. Each kraal is surrounded
[417] by a thick bamboo palisade, twice as high as a man, enclosing six to eight spacious round huts. There is no tree, green fence pole, or even a banana leaf anywhere near it. The entire complex stands on the commanding steep mountain top, like a fort built for defense.

361 In other parts of the border districts adjoining Ruanda, the houses are sometimes crowded together into whole villages surrounded by strong protective fences. Indeed, Captain Bethe even found "a large city of natives, a compact community living together" (Deutsches Kolonialblatt [German Colonial Journal, 1899, p. 9) in Iwusome on Lake Rugwero in northeastern Urundi. However, these are exceptions to the general practice of living in individual kraals and occur only in a few exposed border regions.

354 The fireplace (isiko) is usually in the main center room of the hut. I intentionally do not use the word "hearth," for usually it consists of a few stones which may be pushed together on a round platform of pounded clay in such a way that a fire may be built in the center and a cooking pot placed on top. Sometimes also, the fire is placed on a thick round plate of fired clay in the same manner as in Ruanda; its periphery is raised in the form of a roll to prevent the fire from being scattered.

372 When the embers cease to glow, which is very seldom, fire is obtained from one's neighbor. On long travels, however, fire is made in the well-known manner of the Bantu, when wood is available, by twirling a hard piece of wood on a soft one; otherwise, a glowing piece of coal is tied up in a bundle of slightly wet grass and carried along. In this manner they carry embers with them on journeys lasting several days.

Yet since firewood is often very scarce in a country almost destitute of trees and bushes, cakes of cattle dung dried in the sun are used for fuel or, wherever there are no cattle or only a few, papyrus or reed rootstocks are collected in the swampy valleys.

233 In the course of time they have managed to spread around them this fever for owning cattle. Any Muhutu /singular of Bahutu/ considers himself fortunate if he comes to own a cow. One wonders if it might not be the Batutsi who brought cattle into Ruanda. It is certain that their beeves are distinguished from the others by the length of their horns, which sometimes measure up to one meter, and that they are quite similar to the cows drawn on Egyptian monuments.

The hypothesis according to which the Batutsi originated in the land of the Pharaohs does not fail to take this fact into account.

One must agree that the Batutsi know a lot about raising cattle. They are familiar with a good number of its diseases and the treatment they require. When one sees the care they give to their cows, one is tempted to believe that they have retained some of the religious veneration which their possible ancestors lavished on the Apis bull.

They cannot bear to see their animals mishandled. Rather than kill one, they will let a sick beast fall to the ground, or a senile one die a natural death.

237 The dung of these animals, which trained servants collect every morning, is carefully deposited by hand outside the ficus-tree [351] enclosure and in time forms an odorous forewall around a large and frequently swept square. /32/ Even their urine is used to rinse the [366] wooden vessels in which milk is stored. Needless to say that in contact with the acid the white liquid acquires a flavor which is not to everyone's taste and turns sour within a short time.

241 The Bahutu are cultivators first and foremost. They make up the bulk of the population, at least eight tenths of it. While the 563 Batutsi, who subsist exclusively on the raising of cattle, settle near 361 pastures, preferably on the highlands, on plateaus, and at the edge of the forest, the Bahutu settle in places where it is possible to cultivate the land, especially in the midst of their banana groves when they own some.

342 The Munyarwanda /sing. of Banyarwanda/ lives in round huts made of reeds, bamboo, and small sticks which are stuck into the ground and whose tips vanish into a sort of previously braided roof (igisenge).

Flexible stalks, gathered into bunches and tied inside in the shape of a circle, lend unity and strength to the structure. Wooden pillars placed under the dome serve as supports and keep the arch from falling over its owners.

The cover is made of grass: sometimes hay from the grasslands, sometimes coarse marsh grass called urukangaga.

[554] Let us add that the beauty and solidity of the hut vary with the wealth of its owner. The hut /54/ includes several compartments divided by partitions of woven bamboo or reeds.

352 513 The bed is made of four pickets set into the ground and interconnected by pieces of wood across the width and length. It supports a mattress of grass covered with a mat. The bed is reserved for the parents. Children sleep on the ground on a mat used half as a mattress and half as a cover.

231 If the owner has some sheep or goats, or even a small calf, he makes room for them in one corner of the hut. The poultry also settles there. And everyone sleeps most peacefully.

354 The furnishings are very primitive. Three clumps of earth, once the domes of as many anthills, make up the andirons of the [415] hearth. They support a large water jar that serves to cook everything. Above the hearth sits a sort of grid where wood is laid to dry.

352 415 In addition, against the partition delimiting the space reserved for strangers, there are jars and jugs of varying size, a half-gourd to scoop water, whole gourds of varying shape and size to hold banana juice or drinking water.

If the Munyarwanda is fortunate enough to own a cow, which is a gift from the gods, he will also have milk containers and churns.

351 Slightly hollowed round billets are used as seats. The hut is usually surrounded by a courtyard of variable size enclosed by a wall of ficus or euphorbia (imiyenzi) that serves as shelter against the wind and [343] protection against thieves. Small shelters (indaro) dedicated to the spirits and food granaries stand within the courtyard to one side or another.

447 On the subject of the fences of the settlements northwest of
712 Kivu, Dr. Kandt (2) says: "All villages have a very curious wall

2. Ibid., p. 460.

surrounding them. It consists of thousands of forked branches and split roots, 10 layers wide and 20 high. For natives this is an almost impenetrable obstacle. The villages can be reached only by way of narrow passes or very steep approaches, and on two sides there are gates that can be quickly and securely closed with trees."

I observed such fences among the Baamba on the Ruwenzori. In Ruanda one does not see them. Here the dwelling is, as a rule, situated on the edge of the courtyard and is, together with the courtyard, surrounded by a euphorbia hedge. The hedges of the individual homesteads intertwine and form a labyrinth that is impenetrable even with the aid of a bush knife, for if one cuts the branches an exceedingly caustic juice squirts out which is very dangerous for the eyes. On the inside these hedges are usually supported by a fence made of sticks bound together. At night the outer approaches, usually opposite the huts, are closed with tree trunks, the branches of which are turned toward the outside. This primitive closure cannot be removed from the outside and, along with the euphorbia hedge, makes a very effective though not at all conspicuous fortification.

On poor Bahutu farms there are sometimes no fences at all.

592 The Compound. The compound or homestead where one
351 family lives with all its relatives and servants usually consists of several huts that form a self-contained unit.

351 In front of the main entrance there is generally a cleared place, free of grass. In the mountainous parts of Ruanda one often has a superb view from this spot, for the settlements are frequently located on mountain tops. This is especially true of the Batutsi settlements north of Lake Mohasi. On the edge of this cleared spot [372] are kept large supplies of dried cow dung which is used for fuel in the parts of the country where wood is scarce.

In the well-built settlements the main entrance, which is closed at night, is flanked by two columns of tied bundles of

351 elephant grass. In the compounds of wealthy persons, consisting of at least three huts, this entrance leads into the front courtyard.

[201] In this courtyard, opposite the entrance, is the kambele, the house occupied by the head of the family. On the side, usually to the left of this house, is the entrance to the inner courts. The front court as well as the inner courts are kept clean and free of grass. Here the clients and subordinates of the head of the establishment assemble to learn his wishes, commands, and decisions. Here he receives his guests who are conducted no farther than into the kambele. Sacrifices also take place here. In Musinga's compound I saw two carefully tended sacrificial trees between the entrance gate and his house on both sides of and at a

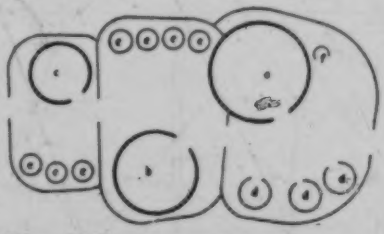

Fig. 127. Compound, Nyanza on Lake Mohasi: (a) kambele, (b) kagondo, (c) mubahutu, (d) stalls for calves, (e) storehouses, (f) spirit hut.

certain distance from the line connecting the two. In the front court near the house one also sees small spirit huts.

In many compounds the front court also contains huts for small calves, and animals are kept here at night. In one single instance I saw a hut for larger calves outside the enclosure. It was explained to me that the whole herd was kept near this hut overnight.

592 In the inner court is the house for the women, known as kagondo. Here the master's wife spends the day with her women servants. It is only in the evening that she is brought to the [264] kambele in a litter. The husband eats with his wife in the kagondo.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

On top of this men might add a goat skin and women a piece of cow-hide in which they eventually carried their babies on their backs. Before the Europeans came, important Tutsi had already for some time replaced the traditional cow-hide of the pastoralists or the bark-cloth borrowed from the agricultural group with large cotton cloths, white or light coloured, elegantly draped. The Tutsi wore two, one as a kind of long, narrow skirt, and the other flowing and tied on the shoulders. Both men and women wore them in this way. These goods were imported by African traders coming from the east where they bought them from Arab merchants. Up to their marriage Tutsi girls wore only a very short loin-cloth made of cow-hide.

Tutsi men had their hair cut in such a way as to leave a few tufts shaped according to a traditional and extremely elegant pattern (*amasunzu*). Unmarried girls, Hutu as well as Tutsi, had their hair cut the same way. The heads of Hutu men and Hutu and Tutsi women were shaved. Necklaces and bracelets in white, blue, and red beadwork were favourite ornaments. There were no artificial bodily deformations such as flattening of the head, chipping of teeth or circumcision. Everybody went barefooted.

The dwelling unit was a compound (*rugo*) consisting of at least three huts, each almost always situated in a circular enclosure intersecting and communicating with the other enclosures of the compound. Huts were of the beehive type usual among the interlacustrine peoples, made of reed and grass. There was a 'bed-sitting' hut (*kambere*), another, where pots, baskets, &c. were kept (*kigonii*), and a kitchen (*kagondo*). Hutu boys and girls under the age of puberty slept in the kitchen if there was no special hut for them. In addition there were granaries, and the small hut devoted to the ancestral spirits, &c. The circular fences were ficus hedges, much higher than a man. This pattern of combined circular fences made possible an almost unlimited extension of the compound without its losing its compactness. Indeed, compounds of rich Tutsi constituted a kind of intricate labyrinth in which it was easy to lose one's way. Whatever the number of enclosures, there was only one narrow communication with the outside world. The open enclosed area might be very large and was used as a kraal in which cattle spent the night during certain periods of the year at least. There was no difference of pattern between Hutu